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HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY REPRINTS

(No. 3)

THE LOG OF THE BRIG HOPE

CALLED

THE HOPE'S TRACK

AMONG THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

MAY 20-OCT. 12, 1791

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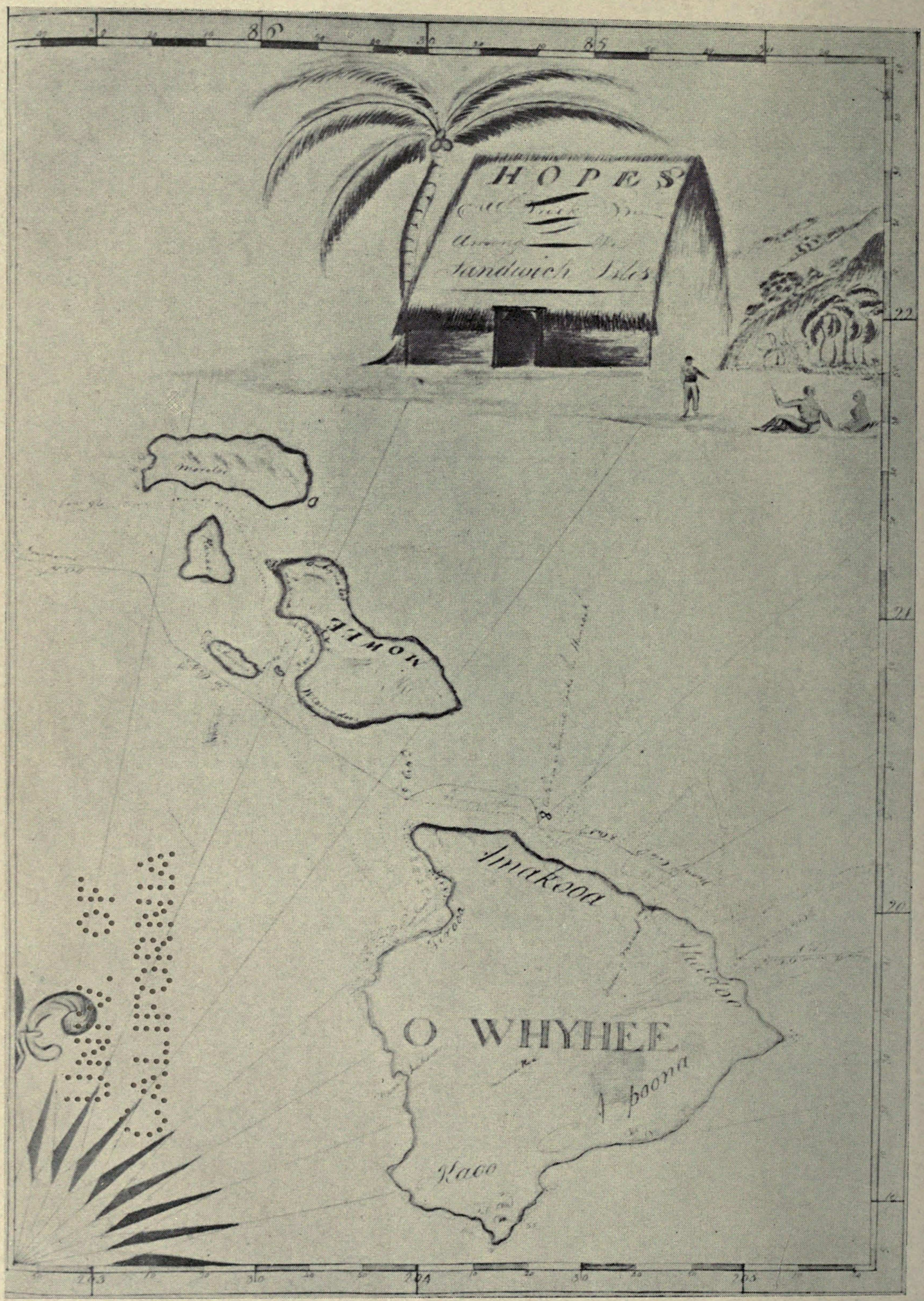


Drawings Appearing in Log of the Hope.

INTRODUCTION

[*Most of the information regarding Captain Joseph Ingraham, the author of this Log, has been taken from "Vikings of the Pacific", by A. C. Laut.*]

ALTHOUGH Captain Cook was here in 1778, it was about 1785-6 before information regarding the discovery of the Sandwich Islands (now called Hawaiian Islands) began to be generally distributed throughout the United States, for printing presses and methods of travel and communication were slow. And it was about this time that several celebrated Boston merchants, including Doctor Bulfinch and his son, Charles Bulfinch, Joseph Barrell, John Derby of Salem, Captain Crowell Hatch of Cambridge, Samuel Brown of Boston, and John Marden Pintard of New York, formed a company (with a capital of $50,000, divided into fourteen shares) for trade in the Pacific. They purchased the Columbia, a full-rigged two-decker of 220 tons, mounting ten guns, which had been built at Hobart's Landing, North River, about fourteen years before; also the Lady Washington, a small sloop of ninety tons.

Captain John Kendrick, of the merchant marine, was chosen to command the Columbia, and Robert Gray—a friend of Kendrick, who had served in the revolutionary navy—was chosen to command the Lady Washington. Orders were given them to avoid offense to any foreign power; to treat the natives with kindness and Christianity; to obtain a cargo of furs on the American coast; to proceed to China and exchange their furs for tea, and to return to Boston with the tea.

The two vessels were loaded with every trinket expected to appeal to the hearts of Pacific islanders—beads, brass buttons, earrings, calico, tin mirrors, blankets, hunting knives, copper kettles, iron chisels, snuff

and tobacco. The crews were made up of the very best class of self-respecting seamen.

Joseph Ingraham was made second mate of the Columbia under Captain Kendrick, and first visited Hawaii, in the Columbia, in 1789. He kept a journal of the voyage, which unfortunately has been lost. It contained a very complete description of Hawaii and its inhabitants and would throw much light on the history of the islands at that period.

In July, 1789, Kendrick and Gray changed ships at Nootka, and on July 30 the Columbia sailed from Vancouver Island for China, by way of Hawaii. A stop was made at Hawaii for provisions, where Atto, the son of a chief, boarded the Columbia for a visit to America. On the return to Boston, Ingraham left the ship, deciding to embark on ventures of his own in the Pacific. Soon after this he was made commander of the brig Hope. Ingraham had a brother who was also trading in the Pacific at this time, but we have no information regarding him.

Log of the Brig Hope

BY CAPTAIN JOSEPH INGRAHAM

First Visit to Hawaii,

May 20, 1791.

On May 20th, 1791, at 7 o'clock in the morning, we saw the Island Owhyhee (Hawaii) bearing WSW distance 10 leagues. The breeze was light, so that it was 5 o'clock the same day ere we were in with the Land when we were about a league from the shore in the district of Oheedoo (Hilo). Several canoes came off from whom we bought a fowl, some plantains, tarro, and a few small fish. At dusk they all left us and we lay off by the wind for the night. Next morning (May 21) by 5 o'clock 2 canoes came off and they continued to increase until there were upwards of a 100.

MAY 21

All of them brought something for sale, traded fair, and behaved very well. I observed a young man among them who seemed to have some authority over the rest, on which I invited him on board and he proved very serviceable indeed, for notwithstanding the number about us we had no trouble. Everything was handed on board before it was paid for and as soon as the chief had presented them what he thought an equivalent he made them leave the vessel immediately. This young man informed us the chief's name of the district we were opposite was Koopah (Kupaa). I asked him if he knew Tiana (Kaiana). He said he did, that he was *Enoo, nooi, nooi, poo makee kanakka* (*ino, ino, nui pu make kanaka*)—that he was bad and had many guns to kill men—that he and Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) had killed Tituree (Kahekili) and taken the islands of Mowee (Maui) and Wahoo (Oahu) and that he had likewise taken a vessel. At the same time he cautioned us against going when we could have

everything we wanted from Koopah (Kupaa), but I observed to him I saw but few hogs come off, and unless I could procure them I must go to Tiana (Kaiana), on which he sent several canoes on shore to fetch some. I continued lying to till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when only 2 of the canoes returned with what they went for and there seemed no liklyhoods of any more.

I bore away to the westward and our friend left us after I rewarded him for his service and fidelity. We purchased of these people 8 pigs, 20 fowls and a great quantity of potatoes, taro, plantains, cocoanuts and sugar cane, besides many hundred fathoms of fine line of various sizes, for which we paid bits of iron hoops and nails. I observed I was much surprised to find Opye (Opai) could not understand the natives of the Marquesas, but I was still more so to find that he could converse but very indifferently with the people of his own country—nay, I could apparently, on our first arrival, talk better with them than Opye (Opai), for he, by blending the American language with his own, formed a kind of jargon unintelligible to everyone but himself. This was on his first arrival, but it soon wore off, and his mother tongue became natural. As I bore away I ordered a gun fired, as I supposed Tiana (Kaiana) would hear it. The seamen being all employed, Mr. Croft, whom I mentioned was wounded in reloading a cannon at the Marquesas, touched it, and, notwithstanding the fact that I saw him sponge and worm the gun, yet, by neglecting to stop the vent, he met with the same accident as before. The gun went off while he was ramming home the cartridge and wounded him in a most shocking manner. Thus I was a second time unfortunately bereft of this officer when I most wanted his assistance. The wounds he had received at the Marquesas were not yet well; having no surgeon was another very disagreeable circumstance. I think no vessel ought to go on such a voyage without one. Small vessels require one as well as large ones; nay

more, were some things considered. Surely losses are of more consequence among few than among many. At dusk the extremes of the land bore from West to SSE. Our distance off shore was about a league. I had the top sails double reefed and lay off by the wind as on the preceding night.

MAY 22

Next morning we had a strong gale and squally weather; the summit of the mountain Monakaa (Mauna Kea), which had been obscured by the clouds since our making the land, was now clear, and we observed on its summit a large spot covered with snow which indicates its vast height, it remaining visible in this low latitude with the sun verticle; yet the mountain by its very gradual ascent does not appear very high to view. If I remember right, Captain King made it higher by measurement than the Peak of Teneriff. This snow no doubt is the source from which the innumerable and vast cascades of water flow which adorn this side of the island. I have counted 35 at one view. These, with the clouds, at times partly obscuring the bushes and habitations of the natives, form a very picturesque appearance. In short, in my weak judgment, many views on the north side of the Island of Owhyhee (Hawaii) form subjects that are worthy to be drawn by the greatest painters.

But to proceed in my narrative: As the morning advanced we stood in shore and ranged along as the land trended. Several canoes came off. I asked them who their chief was, but they said they had none; that there was one to the Eastward, and one to the westward, but none where they resided. We had little success in trading till the afternoon, when many canoes flocked about us, of whom we purchased 27 hogs, 12 fowls, a goose and a quantity of sugar cane. Among the rest that visited us was a double canoe, the first we had seen since we made the land; in it were 2 chiefs and several persons born at Atooi (Kauai); most of them were known to Opye (Opai), but the chiefs in

particular. Opye (Opai) embraced them, according to their custom, by joining noses, at the same time he seemed strikingly affectionate and might put to blush friends of more cultivated manners who part and meet again without a tear. To enlarge on this subject might perhaps be viewed as strained efforts of the head, which I by all means wish to avoid and, therefore, let it rest to the conception of my friends, as I am sure the conceptions of a feeling heart on these occasions, beggar all description. The friends of Opye (Opai) wished to remain a little time on board. I therefore consented to have 3 of them remain on board for the night, towing their canoe astern with the rest, but the weather soon became so tempestuous as to oblige the canoes to leave us and we made sail so as to have a good offing before night. Opye's (Opai's) friends made me a present of a fine large hog and a feathered Etoo'a (*Akua,* idol). These men contradicted the answer the young chief under Koopah (Kupaa) had given us of Titiiree's (Kahekili's) being dead, but all of them were acquainted with Tiana (Kaiana) and Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and said they were at war with Titiiree (Kahekili) and Tio (Kaeo); that the men of Owhyhee (Hawaii) were now at Mowee (Maui) fighting with Titiiree's (Kahekili's) and Tio's (Kaeo's) men, but that Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and Tiana (Kaiana) were at Owhyhee (Hawaii) in Toyahyah (Kawaihae) bay. From what these men said it should seem Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) was determined to bring the Leeward Islands under subjection to him.

May 23

Next morning we steered in shore in the district of Amakooa (Hamakua). Several canoes came off and brought us hogs, fowls, potatoes, etc., which we bought for hoops, etc., as before. About 10 o'clock a double canoe came off and took on shore all Opye's (Opai's) friends except 2, which accompanied us to Toyahyah (Kawaihae). At noon the wind increased to a per-

fect gale and we bore away, bringing to occasionally as we met canoes that contained hogs, etc., that we were in want of. While we were running down, Opye (Opai) came to me with tears in his eyes and cautioned me against Tiana (Kaiana) and Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha), confirming, by the information of his friends, what we had heard to windward, that they had taken a vessel. I laughted at Opye (Opai) at the time and supposed, as I did before, that it was only a report fabricated to detain us to windward that they might enrich themselves by supplying us with the articles we were in want of. However, although I did not immediately notice or credit this information, yet I bore it in mind so as to be on my guard, conceiving it possibly true, yet improbable. I told Opye (Opai) we had plenty of powder and shot to defend ourselves with. His answer was "Take care; by and by you dead; Tianna (Kaiana) too many man." Although apparently I made light of these precautions yet they had their weight, as I could not doubt but Opye's (Opai's) friendship for me was sincere. At 4 in the afternoon we doubled the point of Toyahyah (Kohala) or the NW extremity of the Islands. This point resembles in some degree the North Foreland in England. One seems as fertile as the other and there needs to be only the dwelling houses to complete the picture. The remains of 2 old mansions and a square pile of stones near the sea represents the ruined edifices and the lighthouse which are on Lord Holland's estate. In short, in my opinion, those who have seen both these places will be struck with the similarity between them, with the exceptions above noted. England presents to view on its sea shores many delightful prospects. So does this Isle, yet the North Foreland and Toyahyah (Kohala) Point are equally incapable of affording pleasure even to the weary mariners.

But to proceed: At 4, as I above observed, we doubled this black point in a heavy gale, so that we could only bear our foresail and double-reefed main-

sail, with a very high sea, yet there were many single canoes about us in which were men, women and children. Few of them had anything for sale, but came merely to view us, and play amidst the storm, like sea gulls, or gambol over the deep like porpoises.

I hoisted a Jack at the main top-mast head and fired a gun to let Tiana (Kaiana) see, whom I knew could distinguish by the colours, what nation we were of. About dusk the wind abated and many canoes, both double and single, came off to us but with nothing of any consequence to sell. In one of the double canoes was a chief who said he came with a message from Tiana (Kaiana) to know who commanded the vessel. I told them "Tiitrum's" (Ingraham) which was the name I always went by at these Islands, as that was as near as they could pronounce it. As night was approaching I desired them all to go on shore immediately and not to come near the vessel till the morning, unless it was to bring letters of recommendation which I was sure Tiana (Kaiana) must have. They all obeyed and immediately went on shore.

About 9 o'clock in the evening the officer of the watch informed me 2 canoes were alongside, in one of which was Tiana (Kaiana). I went up and received him together with a young chief whom I had seen on board the Columbia on my last voyage. Their wives, servants, etc., were with them. He seemed glad to see me; said he intended sleeping on board and asked for some tea, which I immediately ordered. While he was drinking his tea I inquired of him who had been there since the Columbia, and he said Captain Douglas and 2 Spaniards were all they had seen. In the Spanish vessels were Captain Colonett and Mr. John Kendrick, Jr., Captain Kendrick's son, whom he had let remain on board the Prinsepa with Don E. J. Martinez. These vessels from his description I soon knew to be the Argonaut and Princess Royall which were captured in Nooka Sound and of which I have given an account in my journal of my last voyage. How-

ever, Tiana (Kaiana) gave me a letter from Mr. Kendrick for his father, a Spanish certificate, and one in English, of which the following is a copy:

"GUSTAVUS III. T. H. Cox. T. H. Cox anchored in Karakakooa (Kealakekua) Bay the 20th of September (1789) and sailed the 21st for the coast of America at which time this memo was left with Tiana (Kaiana) (who accompanied Captain Meares to Canton and returned with him to this place) and who is recommended to the notice and kindness of the commanders of any vessel who may touch at this place, being a chief of the first consequence in the Island and in whom the utmost confidence may be placed."

This certificate I knew was given by Captain Cox in the year 1789 as he was at Owhyhee (Hawaii) soon after we left Onehow (Niihau) in the Columbia. This circumstance I should have mentioned to Tiana (Kaiana), but the following was annexed on the same sheet:

N. B. The above was obtained from Lieut. Kemp, commanding the sloop Pss. Royall (belonging to the Honorable South Sea Company, of England) and captured by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound in July, 1789, and at this time navigating under Spanish colors, and a passport to Manila and from thence to Macao, to be delivered up to the owners' agents residing there. Captain Colonette of the Argonaute, who was also captured with the sloop Pss. Royall and detained till the 1st of June, 1790, prisoners together with the officers and crews of both vessels, were then liberated and the officers and crews of both vessels were ordered on board the Argonaute to proceed to Nootka and take possession of the Princess Royall, she being then employed in the Spanish service. The Argonaute proceeded to Nootka but the Pss. Royall had sailed after a series of misfortunes and the loss of 31 men, 18 of which deserted and died in Spanish prisons; the other 16 died or were drowned on the coast of America. Since the liberation of the Argonaute she arrived in the bay of Tirooa Owhyhee (Kailua, Hawaii), where the Ps. Royall was then riding. Captain Colonett has also been treated by Tianna (Kaiana) and Mihamaiha (Tommahommahaw, Kamehameha) in every respect as he wished; everything the island produced being at his command.—Argonaute, 1 April, 1791.

This certificate, given but a little time before our arrival, seemed to give me a favorable opinion of Tiana (Kaiana), and for a while did away with the suspicions

I had entertained of him from the reports I had from the islanders to windward, whom I thought were probably his enemies. Happily, this idea did not possess me so far as to put me off my guard. I inquired of Tiana (Kaiana) if he had seen Captain Kendrick since he left the Americans with him, and what had become of those people. He answered he had not seen Captain Kendrick; that 2 of the men which he left had gone with Captain Douglas to Macao and one remained with Titieree (Kahekili) at Waahoo (Oahu).

During the night it was observed by the officers and seamen that Tiana (Kaiana) slept but little, frequently going on deck. He called me twice to have the ship run nearer in shore, but each time I gave orders to the contrary. He likewise inquired of Opye (Opai) the number of men and quantity of powder on board, etc., which it seems Opye (Opai) exaggerated. In the night he sent his canoe on shore, as he told me, to bring off provisions for himself and his wife. However, from what I afterwards learned, I had reason to believe his motive for sending her was not altogether to bring off provisions, but for a much worse purpose.

May 24

Next morning Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) came off in a large double canoe with his wife and several chiefs, some of which I let come on board, as they were related to the King.

Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) was much altered since I saw him last, as was Tiana (Kaiana) and the loss of all their front teeth made them both appear at least 10 years older. It seems Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) knocked his first out either from fancy or some religious purpose, and Tiana (Kaiana), with every one else about him, deprived themselves of theirs also as a testimony of their regard for the King.

By 7 o'clock there was collected about us near 200 canoes, double and single. I always kept a drawn hanger in my hand; likewise all my seamen had loaded musketts with fixed bayonetts. Seeing the canoes in-

crease about us I ordered the starboard boarding netting up, and that side and the stern tabooed. The canoes kept off very well, though I could easily discern Tiana (Kaiana) was alarmed at something, as he frequently asked what was the matter, and behaved much in the same manner as he did when I received the letters on board the Columbia in Karakakooa (Kealakekua) Bay on my last voyage.

The wind blew directly into the bay. We were about a league from the shore and I kept my wind close to preserve that distance, as I thought to get nearer in would be dangerous. Having received 4 caps and 2 tippets (capes) from Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and Tiana (Kaiana) I made them presents in return, besides two muskets, for which they promised to bring off hogs and salt. I waited about 2 hours for these hogs. Seeing they did not come I inquired of Tiana (Kaiana) when they would come. He said we must go near to the shore and anchor, as it would tire the men very much to paddle off so far, and as they had to go into the mountains for the hogs. In the interim I could go on shore with him and see Tirova (Kailua), which was the name of the town. I required no great penetration to see this trap. I therefore answered him with some warmth that I would go no nearer to shore and that I could not leave my vessel at any rate. Seeing this he said the wind was fair to go to Karakakooa (Kealakekua), where he could at once supply me with hogs, wood, water and everything we were in want of, but this I refused likewise.

Shortly after this 5 very large hogs and a quantity of salt came on board. To carry on the farce, the men in the canoes breathed very hard and said they were tired, which Tiana desired me to observe, repeating his request to go nearer in. Instead of which I told him and Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) I was going to leave the island. Immediately both of them seemed disappointed. There appeared something mysterious in the behavior of these chiefs during their stay on board;

besides, Mr. Croft, my 2nd officer, informed me he saw Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) winking to the men in the canoes on each side, which alarmed me at the time, and from what I afterwards learned, I am convinced if their whole force had been at Owhyhee (Hawaii) instead of Mowee (Maui) they would have attacked us, and as it was, had they got us in shore I have no doubt they would have tried us; but I think they must have come off second best, had we been aware of them; but, then, while bringing the vessel to anchor, furling sails, etc., we must have necessarily been off our guard . These ideas they have become acquainted with from Tiana. Which shows that to carry off these islanders and return them after their gaining a knowledge of arms is very imprudent.

However, after inquiring very particularly to what part of Mowee (Maui) we were going Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) left us. Tiana (Kaiana) repeated this inquiry, and I informed him to leeward. He said it was best; that to windward were many rocks. I wondered at his concern, and the question at the time, but that will appear in the sequel.

I left Opye (Opai) with Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha), after being with me near 20 months (taken on former visit of Ingraham in Columbia in Oct. 1789). I was sorry to part with him and endeavored to dissuade him from staying, but as he seemed determined and I had promised him he should remain at any island he chose, I would not force him. After weeping all the forenoon he took a most affectionate adieu of me and all on board. Although I took Opye (Opai) as a servant, I always treated him more like friend and, being taken great notice of during his stay in America, he was impressed with the most favourable ideas of our nation. I supplied him amply with clothes, a musket, an American Jack and many other things, but not so many as I should have done had I known sooner of his intention to stay. I likewise gave him a certificate to show where he had been and to

recommend him to the notice of all commanders, but this is the last certificate I shall ever give any of these islanders; but instead will caution every one against their treachery, which I was unacquainted with when I gave this. It is to be hoped everyone will adopt the same plan, as these certificates of recommendation may inspire a confidence which these people have proved themselves unworthy of, and which has already and may again prove fatal to unsuspecting strangers of civilized nations.

Tiana (Kaiana) remained in the cabin till all the canoes were gone except one which was waiting for him. When he came on deck he walked back and forth in a great passion (seemingly) saying, "Owry euaa (aole waa)—there is no canoe"; from which at the time I supposed he was angry that all the canoes were gone and left him; but considering this conduct of his, since, and comparing his behaviour with what I afterwards heard of him, I am led to believe he was lamenting the absence of the canoes which were engaged in war at Mowee (Maui), which rendered his diabolical scheme of attacking us too dangerous.

When I first saw him walking in the manner before mentioned, I supposed he had formed a resolution of joining his brother, the King of Atooi (Kauai), against Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha), as he had that morning whispered in my ear he intended to go to Atooi (Kauai) with me, but not to mention it; on which I asked him if he intended going agreeable to his proposal, but he answered no, as he well knew if he accompanied me I should learn ere he could get out of my power what a villain he was. Seeing a fresh barge coming he took his leave saying he should look out for us when we passed again to go to China, and I thought at the time so should I look out for him.

The sea breeze coming in with equal violence as on the preceding day obliged us to stretch over towards Mowee (Maui) under our courses.

At Owhyhee (Hawaii) we purchased 69 hogs, 2

dozen fowls, 2 geese and a great quantity of potatoes, taro, sugar cane, plantains, etc. At 6 in the evening the point of Toyahyah (Kohala) bore east 8 leagues distance. At 11 at night, being under Mowee (Maui) we brought to under a double reefed mainsail till daylight when we found ourselves near the Island of Tohawrooa (Kahoolawe) and hauled our wind for the Island Morokinnee (Molokini).

May 25

When we drew near this island the wind blew at times in all directions; at others it was calm. This occasioned the sea to run in cross directions likewise, and so high as to oblige us to lash in our deadlights, a circumstance very uncommon in these low latitudes. Besides it raised whirlwinds, etc., and tossed the vessel about in the most disagreeable manner we had experienced before, on the voyage, not even excepting the tide of Staten Land (see book 1, p. 29). At 2 p. m. the sea breeze came in with such violence as to oblige us to haul our topsails. Shortly afterwards the wind fixed in the westward and bound us far within Morokinnee (Molokini) into Rapo'rapo (Kalepolepo) Bay, so that I expected we should be obliged to anchor to prevent our getting on shore. However, at dusk the wind shifted and blew off Mowee (Maui) very strongly till 10 in the evening when it abated and we lay peaceably the remainder of the night.

May 26

At daylight next morning we were abreast of the place we had lain under in the Columbia on my last voyage and where I intended to water. At 6 in the morning I had a Jack hoisted at the main top-gallant mast-head. Shortly after a large double canoe was seen coming off with a white tappa (or piece of island cloth) flying at her mast head. As they drew near I saw a white man standing up in her; that is, his colour was a little different from the natives, but had I not expected to have found white men here I should not have distinguished them till they were alongside, so

effectually had the sun altered them, for I soon saw 2 more. They were naked except the Marro (Malo—breech-cloth) like the natives. When they came within hail I asked one, whom I knew to be the carpenter's-mate of the Columbia, how he did. Instead of answering me he called out "By G—d! I'm glad you've come. These fellows have taken one vessel already." I waited their coming on board. The 2 men exclusive of the carpenter's-mate before mentioned, were left by Captain Wm. Douglas to collect sandalwood for the China market, which wood he had discovered, or a wood similar to it, on these islands. These men handed me the following certificate:

> "These are to certify that Jn. Young and James Cox went on shore from the schooner Grace (with leave from William Douglass, Owner and Commander) to remain at Atooi (Kauai) till his return from Canton, but as no man can foresee what accidents may happen in the course of such a voyage, I have to request all Commanders that may come this way if the abovementioned Jn. Young and James Cox request a passage to Canton that it may be granted and the obligation shall be returned by Captain Douglas—Atooi (Kauai), August 21, 1790.—To all Commanders of vessels employed on the NW coast of America."

I inquired of Ridler, which was the name of carpenter's mate before mentioned, what vessel these people had taken. He said a small schooner named the Fair American was taken by the natives of Owhyhee (Hawaii). This schooner was tender to the Eleanora, Captain Metcalf, of New York, and commanded by his son, whom the natives killed with 3 seamen. One (Isaac Davis) they threw overboard, but after beating and bruising him in a most shocking manner, they took him into one of the canoes and lashed him in with his face downwards, where Ridler found him, and interceded to save his life, in which he succeeded. When the schooner was taken the Eleanora was in Karakakooa (Kealakekua) Bay taking in sandalwood. This, it seems, was known by his (Metcalf's) son, as the natives had informed him. The seamen of the Fair American, conceiving their situation dangerous, urged this unfor-

tunate young man not to remain in Toyahyah (Kawaihae) but to go to Karakakooa (Kealakekua), where they would be under the protection of the brig and could there supply themselves with everything they were in want of; but unhappily for himself and those under his command he seemed infatuated and turned a deaf ear to this advice.

One of the chiefs coming aft with a feathered cap presented it to Captain Metcalf, at the same time desired he might fit it on his head. In doing which, finding him off his guard, he (the chief) clasped him round and threw him overboard. At the same instant everyone on board was seized and overpowered by numbers. After being thrown into the sea those in the canoes, in a most cruel manner, beat and bruised them with their paddles, etc., till they put a period to their existence.

As I before observed, the Eleanora, Captain Metcalf, Sr., was at this time in Karakakooa (Kealakekua) ignorant of the fate of his unfortunate son, although within a few miles of him. When this schooner was taken, the boatswain of Captain Metcalf's brig (John Young) was on shore merely to view the place and visit the Americans residing there. These people were, from what had happened, so conscious of their strength that they detained this man on shore and when he was sent for returned answer that the bay was Taboo, but he should come off the same day in the evening or on the following morning when the canoes would carry off wood as usual. But in this time they were preparing to attack this brig, which mounted 14 carriage guns and 8 swivells. For this occasion there were 26,000(?) canoes in readiness, 16 hundred of which were double. These covered the shore for several miles and to carry on the finesse, many of these canoes were laden with sandalwood, which were to be trading as usual, till they (the crew of the Eleanora) were off their guard, when they meant to attack them.

These circumstances were made known to the Americans on shore who endeavored to dissuade them (the

natives) from their attempt, assuring them they were ignorant of the mischief guns would do and that many hundreds of them must certainly fall. To this they answered, if any of their countrymen fell in the attempt they would retaliate by taking the lives of these unfortunate men (on shore) whom they had in their power. This circumstance led them to exaggerate the danger of the enterprize and to exhort the King to let them send off a letter to Captain M. and thereby save their lives and stop effusion of blood that must inevitably ensue by such conduct.

The King at length agreed to this and they sent off a letter desiring Captain Metcalf to depart immediately, without stating particulars, advising him that by so doing he would be the means of saving their lives and avoid the hazzard of losing his vessel. In this letter it seems they never mentioned a syllable of the schooner being taken, which they were acquainted with, and, on consideration, they did well.

Such news might have exasperated Captain Metcalf to revenge the death of his son, and loss of property, which, by taking place so immediately after the letter had been sent off, would convince the natives it was the result of information sent off by letter, which no doubt would occasion the immediate death of the white men on shore. However, Captain Metcalf sailed away, which was fortunate for both parties.

It seemed this was not the only calamity which befell Captain Metcalf at these islands, for not long before this schooner was captured, his long boat was stolen from the stern of his vessel at the Island of Mowee (Maui). The man stationed in her, to watch her, being asleep, the natives towed the boat to shore, and murdered this poor fellow in cool blood, while on his knees in tears he was supplicating for mercy, and these unfeeling wretches often told with exulting pleasure how this unhappy man behaved before they took his life, saying the man who killed him was a great warrior. After this circumstance they had the impudence

to bring off the boat's keel and the man's bones for sale, which they were paid for, as they deserved, with powder and ball.

In this affray, by the account received from the natives themselves, 200 men fell, yet it seems that many of the innocent fell with the guilty, and the chief who murdered the man was on shore and escaped.

The taking of this vessel (the Fair American) altered the situation of the people whom Captain Kendrick had left among them very materially, for they now had what they were before dependent on these people to furnish them with—a small vessel. This circumstance divested them (the white men) of their usual authority, and their existence seemed only prolonged to work the schooner, which the natives could not do without them. Tiana (Kaiana) often urged Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) to put them to death, assuring him they would, when an opportunity offered, disclose their (the natives') guilt; but, fortunately for them, Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) would not listen to this advice.

About 6 months after the Fair American was taken, Captain Douglas, in the schooner Grace, arrived in Toyahyah (Kawaihae) bay and was informed by the natives that the King and Tiana (Kaiana), with all the other chiefs of consequence, and the fighting men, were at Mowee (Maui) at war, having conquered that island, with Taharooa (Kahoolawe), Ranai (Lanai), and Morotoi (Molokai), which was the case at that time.

Captain Douglas immediately went over to his supposed friends on Maui. A young lad, whom Captain Kendrick left at Owhyhee (Hawaii), found means to get on board the Grace, but kept everything a secret till he should get his comrades off also. He would in all probability have effected their escape, but a second man coming off, told the whole story, at the same time advising Captain Douglas of the dangers

he would be in by remaining under the island, as they (the natives) would certainly take him. The captured schooner was then in sight under a point of land and the natives had mounted her guns on a rising ground above her, and threw up a breastwork of stones to protect her.

Captain Douglas offered 40 musketts for the men that remained but was refused. To me it remains a matter of wonderment that when he heard this news and had the King and Tiana (Kaiana) on board, he did not confine them till the men were given up. Perhaps he thought his vessel was unequal to an attack by the men then about her, independent of many thousands on shore, for I am informed, when the news came off, there were between 600 and 700 canoes off the Grace. At that time she had but 3 carriage guns, having lost the others she brought from Macao in a gale of wind on the coast of America, together with her boats. Besides the want of cannon the Grace had no breastwork or quarters for fighting, and, being a low vessel, had the savages attacked them, they would certainly have carried her. However, Captain Douglass sailed away that night for the Leeward Islands. After these 2 men were gone, those that were left led a most disagreeable life; nay, they were constantly in fear of being put to death. When Captain Douglas' letters came on shore to request the men which remained, Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and Tiana (Kaiana) sent for Ridler to explain the contents to them. When he told their purport, Tiana (Kaiana) said it was a lie and that he would kill Douglas in the morning, and I have no doubt they would have attempted it if he had remained.

When Captain Douglas left this Island (Hawaii) he stopped at Wahoo (Oahu) and Aatooi (Kauai). At the latter he left the 2 men I took off (John Young and James Cox) to collect sandalwood, as before mentioned. These men he left under care of Tio (Kaeokulani), the King, saying he would return in 6 months; but seeing he did not return at the time expected, Tio

(Kaeo) threw off his protection, by which these two men were often in extreme want of provisions, insulted by the rabble, and in danger of their lives, as the natives said Douglas had insulted their King.

When these men were left at Kauai, Ridler was, as I have already said, to windward with Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha). Hearing of these men being left and in hopes of better treatment and protection to Leeward, he informed the King that one of the men left by Captain Douglas was his brother, and if he would let him go down he would bring him up to Mowee (Maui). After many persuasions Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) consented and he went off in a single canoe with 4 men and did not return to Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) again, and when I took him on board he was engaged in war against him.

The news I heard from these men was at once a key to all that had happened to windward. I was now no longer at a loss to account for the behaviour of Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and Tiana (Kaiana)—why they wanted me inshore to anchor, or to go to Karakakooa (Kealakekua), and their reasons for cautioning me against the weather side of Mowee (Maui), as their schooner and fighting men were then there.

I was now extremely sorry I left Opye (Opai), whose information will no doubt have a tendency to make these people worse, and who, from his knowledge of the English language, they will make subserviant to their wicked purposes. However, to end this long digression from the thread of my narration, these people warned me against the men that were about us, saying they were equally as bad as those of Owhyhee (Hawaii) and were not only desirous but determined to avail themselves of the first opportunity to take a vessel. Old Tio (Kaeo), King of Atooi (Kauai), with Abeenooe pohuwah (?) and several other chiefs of consequence came on board. The canoes collecting about us quite fast, I hoisted the boarding netting on that side and taboo'd it and the stern. I desired them to bring

off water, which they did, about 300 gallons. When they stopped bringing it off I was going to make sail, when I found one of the white men missing. I inquired for him and was informed he had returned to the shore again to bring off what few clothes they had and 2 musketts which belonged to them. I had done well if I had left him, as he had no right to leave the vessel again without my knowledge. However, as I had promised him protection, I determined to wait his coming off. When I inquired for him I was informed he was coming off with Tieturee (Kahekili), the King of Woahoo (Oahu). At the same time I ordered all the boarding nettings hoisted. This circumstance alarmed old Tio (Kaeo) exceedingly and he inquired if we were going to keep him. I assured him we were not; at the same time I saw the missing man coming off accompanied by Tituree (Kahekili). The chiefs on board called to Tituree (Kahekili) to remain in his canoe and not come on board. When the canoe came alongside the Englishman stepped on board and Tio (Kaeo), with his attendants, went into the canoe. One of the musketts which was brought off was handed on board; the other one they kept and shoved off their canoes. All of us who understood the language called to them to hand the musket on board, but without effect, on which I touched a swivell which was elevated to go over their heads and did nearly. At the same instant a pistol and musket was fired without my orders, as the men, seeing me anxious to recover the musket, took it for granted they were doing right. Here there was a momentary pause. I observed the natives in great confusion tumbling each other over and fighting among themselves. However, they soon recovered and paddled towards us. At this time one of the men I had taken on board called to me that they intended to attack us. His words were "They are for fighting, sir, you may depend"; on which I ordered my men which were all under arms to fire. After a few shots they turned and paddled from us. In all

about 20 muskets and 2 swivells were fired. The number of canoes was about 30, containing 250 or 300 men. After paddling from us they were soon out of our reach except with cannon, which were not tried. What damage was done I cannot say, this I am sure of though, that I saw most of the natives fall down or dive overboard at the flash. Some of my people informed me they saw 2 fall as though dead, but for my own part, and I kept constantly looking, I saw none fall as if killed by our shot, but many as if to dodge. By this I do not mean to insinuate for certain none were killed; on the contrary, I am confident there was a great chance that some were either killed or wounded, perhaps both. All the damage I saw done was a swivel shot knock off the head of a canoe. All this unhappy accident happened and was over in 2 minutes at furthest.

Now, before anyone reflects on my conduct on this occasion or conceives it as wrong or rash, I have first to request they will for a moment put themselves in my situation and view the matter on both sides. In the first place I believe, nay I am convinced, that when the natives first came off they had no intention to attack us at that time, though they had often told these people, as I have before mentioned, that they would take a vessel when an opportunity offered by which they would be able to cope with Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and Tiana (Kaiana). This no doubt was sufficient to put me on my guard; besides, I found Tio (Kaeo) much chagrined at the loss of these men (John Young and James Cox) at this precarious juncture, when he daily expected an attack from his enemies to windward, and who, it seems, were in great measure intimidated by these white men being with him. Had muskets not been brought off by order of Tituree (Kahekili) I should never have demanded them, but after having eyed our small vessel over and having counted our number, for us to have peaceably given up the muskets would have given them great room to suppose we

were afraid of them and thereby risked an attack from their whole force which was 700 canoes and 20,000 fighting men. These must have carried us, for allowing every man of us to kill 500 men, there were more than the same number to take their place. Besides, everything happened, as it were, in an instant. My mind was strongly agitated with what I had just heard, and when the canoes paddled towards us and the man who well understood their language informed me they meant to attack us, it was certainly my duty to intimidate them at once and thereby not only save our own vessel and lives but give a future warning to these people and show them what they have to expect ere they can take a vessel.

Should it be said I had no right to take these men —for I am aware some will be inconsistent enough to say so—I answer very plainly, I had. One was an American (Ridler) who sought protection under the colours of his country, having often been threatened with death either to be sacrificed to their gods in the Morai (Heiau, Temple) or to prevent his telling that they had taken a vessel. This was at Owhyhee (Hawaii). He was in no better situation here, being almost starved with hunger and being obliged to head them in battle. Their party being much inferior to Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha), he was daily in danger of being taken, in which case he would have been put to the most cruel death, having, as has been mentioned, deserted from Tommahommahaw.

The other 2 were Englishmen (John Young and James Cox), it's true, yet this did not exclude them from my protection or pity. They were left by Captain Douglas who had afforded kind protection to 2 Americans under similar circumstances, and it was no more than right and proper that I should grant his men protection in return, or be agreeable to his request in the certificate to all commanders, etc. Independent of all this, humanity alone demanded it, for I should have been worse than a savage to have turned a deaf ear to

the entreaties of these poor men to be rescued from their dangerous situation.

It is hard for any man to say how he would have conducted the unhappy happenings of this day, for those who have not been in a similar situation among savages can ill-judge, nor is it easy to frame an adequate idea of the anxiety a man having charge of a vessel and men's lives suffers on such occasions, which often happen unavoidably on such voyages. Be all this as it may, I hope I think as much of the life of a savage as any man existing, and God forbid my conscience should ever be charged with taking the life of anyone wantonly, however uncivilized. What I have done in this case is what my reason dictated at the moment, having no time for reflection. Here I must leave this disagreeable business to work its effect on the minds and hearts of my readers, hoping none will judge rashly, as people are but too apt to do on such occasions before have duly weighed every circumstance attending the catastrophe.

After the firing had ceased the canoes laid in a line, as it were, conversing with each other and viewing us. The wind drove them towards the shore, where a vast concourse of people was assembled. I expected every moment they would be afloat to attack us, as the beach seemed covered with canoes to a vast distance, which we could well see by the help of glasses.

A breeze springing up soon put us out of their power. Ppyamano (Piliamu), the son of Tituree (Kahekili), remained on board unnoted during all that passed. He seemed under little concern about what had taken place, and said he would go to America with us. However, this I would not agree to, as, being a great chief, I could not, consistent with our situation, retain him on board and treat him as I would wish, or as the dignity of his station required. To have treated him as a servant would, I conceived, have been wrong. It would have broken his spirits, and at the same time given room for him to judge unfavourably of our na-

tion, which I did not wish to do, for it seems, from many circumstances, these islanders, as well as many others in this ocean, have abundant reason to lament they were ever discovered. This, however, I shall explain at large in my description of this Archipelago.

Next morning we were near the Island Woahoo (Oahu). We hauled in for Waitietee (Waikiki) Cliffs (Diamond Head). At 10 o'clock we anchored in Waitieetee (Waikiki) Bay in 11 fathoms water, the morai (heiau) bearing north our distance off shore 2 miles. As I wanted wood and water here, I secured Pyamano (Piliamu) below with another islander who had usually been a servant to the men I took off, lest they should tell of what took place to windward and thereby prevent our being supplied by this means. We procured between 3 and 400 gallons of water besides cocoanuts, potatoes, etc.

About 3 o'clock while we were trading in good fellowship, a single canoe arrived from to windward and put a sudden stop to our friendship, and the word "Ko'a" (Kaua, war) was passed from one to another, and they immediately left us; some not even waiting to receive pay for what they had sold. Seeing this, while the canoes were within hail, I called up Pyamano (Piliamu) and discharged him with some presents, but the other I retained, agreeable to his own request. After this, all probability of further refreshment being at an end for the present, I weighed my anchor and sailed out of the bay.

The next day at noon, the wind being far northerly, we could not weather Atooi (Kauai) and I bore away for the south side of it.

Next morning we were not far from its end and stood to the west towards Wymaeah (Waimea) point. As we were running down, several canoes came off to us, from whom we bought a hog and some fine potatoes. After being in Wymaeah (Waimea) a chief came off with whom I was acquainted, who assured me if I would anchor I should have everything I was in want

of, or that the island afforded; but as the wind blew a fresh gale obliquely towards the land, I chose to keep under way. Old Inemo (Inoino), a chief of whom I made mention on my last voyage, was at this time principal at Wymaeah (Waimea). He had been lately blown up with powder and was at present very ill. However, he came off alongside in the afternoon, lying on his back on a platform made for the purpose in a double canoe. His breast and face appeared much burnt and he had them covered with green leaves. I invited him on board, but he said he would not come unless we could anchor which I could not with propriety consent to for reasons before mentioned. On the approach of night I stood off and the natives left us. I sent on shore some salve for old Inemo, who was a good friend to us in the Columbia.

As there was a low point under our lee, off which was a reef, I hauled off to the SSE and kept tacking occasionally all night.

The next morning we were near midway between Atooi (Kauai) and Onehow (Niihau). At 6 a canoe came off from Atooi (Kauai) of whom we bought some potatoes, tappa, etc. The same canoe returned to the shore and brought us off about 30 gallons of fresh water.

This day many large sharks were about us and we caught a pilot fish, which on examining I deem worthy of a plan, and a drawing of it shall be presented in some of the following pages.

THE HOPE'S SECOND VISIT

On the 6 of October, 1791, being in latitude 19° 54 N Longitude 154° West, at 8 o'clock in the morning, we saw the Island of Owhyhee (Hawaii) bearing west, distance 20 leagues. We stood towards it with a light breeze under all sail, but we were not near enough by night for canoes to come off. However, in the interval, a friendly school of fish afforded us

some refreshment, which lengthened out our patience till we could approach nearer this land of plenty.

At dusk the extremes of the island bore from SSW to WBN; our distance offshore about 6 leagues.

Next morning we were within about 2 leagues of the shore. At 8 o'clock a single canoe came off in which were 2 men and a woman. They brought not the least thing for sale, but informed us that there was still war; that Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) and Tiana (Kaiana) had brought the district of Hedoo (Hilo) and Amakooa (Hamakua) under subjection, and that they had killed Teora (Keoua) and Koopah (Kupa), the chiefs of whom I made mention when we visited this island last.

As a convincing proof that their chiefs were dead, the woman showed us where she had knocked out 2 of her teeth, one for Teora (Keoua) and one for Koopah (Kupa). We inquired for hogs, but were answered that they had none, that their country was ravaged and laid waste by the conquerors. This was bad news for us and for a time seemed to dampen our hopes of refreshments. As usual, however, this canoe was soon followed by 7 others. From these we bought a pig of tolerable size, some potatoes, plantains, etc. These I had immediately served out to my men, which afforded a good repast for the present. In the afternoon about 20 canoes came off from which we purchased a few schooner, through the haze, and I judged it might be Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) coming over from Mowee (Maui), in which case I was sure, if we could get between her and the land, we could certainly take her; but as we drew nearer we found she was far inshore of us and shortly after we were further undeceived by discovering it to be a Brig laying to. She fired several guns, which we answered. I likewise had a French flag hoisted at the fore top gallant mast head, which was my signal on the NW. As Captain Gray was acquainted with this I supposed he would inform any other vessel he spoke with. A few minutes before

we arrived within hail a single canoe put off from the Brig and came towards us. We hailed her and inquired who was in her, and was answered "Adamson," whom I knew, and welcomed on board. He informed me the Brig was the Hancock of Boston, Captain Samuel Croel; that he was interested in her and came out to conduct the business in China jointly with a Mr. Crighton. They were then from the NW; that they were not bound to China this season, but intended wintering among the Sandwich Islands. This I wondered at much for 2 reasons, one of which was that Captain Gray, when I saw him on the coast last, informed us he had seen Mr. Adamson 8 days before and that he was bound to China; likewise that he had sent letters by him. Besides this I had often heard Mr. Adamson declare that, from what he had before suffered from tempestuous weather wintering among the islands in the Ephegena, he would never pass a winter among them again, but rather remain on the coast of America.

However, Mr. Adamson informed me they were destitute of several necessary articles, such as tea, sugar, coffee; and, besides, all their liquours were expended. I assured Mr. Adamson I would relieve them as far as lay in my power on the following morning. It was calm, a delightful evening; the moon shone with uncommon splendour, casting a silvered gleam on the bosom of the deep. The high lands threw a dark shade which was gradually lightened into a blue tint as the shade lost its effect—an elegant subject for a better pen, however, as I profess to be neither poet nor painter. All I could do was to admire.

Thinking it to be a good time to visit my friends in the Hancock, I ordered my boat hoisted and went on board, where I was introduced to Captain Croel and the rest of the gentlemen. After being on board about 5 minutes I was informed they were bound to Macao and that it was only a scheme agreed on between themselves previous to Mr. Adamson's coming on board the Hope, that by saying they intended to winter among

the islands they were in hopes (had we turned out to be a stranger) to have obtained supplies of provisions, etc. From not knowing our signal they took us, when coming down before the wind, to be a Frenchman. However, this plan, I assured them, struck me as a bad one, for anyone engaged in the NW trade would certainly sooner supply them, being bound to Macao, than to enable them to cruize among these islands in readiness to embrace the following season on the coast before anyone else could possibly get there from Macao.

Captain Croel and Mr. Adamson accompanied me on board the Hope to supper and remained on board till near midnight. The morning of the 9th several canoes came off from Toyahyah (Kohala) point; among the rest was a chief that I mentioned boarded us to windward when we were last at the island and was Opye's (Opai's) friend, who accompanied me into Toyahyah (Kawaihae). Ridler, one of the men I took off from Mowee (Maui) at that time, informed me this chief was what he termed one of Tommahommahaw's (Kamehameha's) runners, who boarded all vessels to windward merely to discover their strength and give information to the King. He had slept on board the Hancock all night and, to prevent his giving any information relative to us, I ordered him immediately confined.

Shortly after, I paid a second visit on board the Hancock. I found there a very stout man whom Mr. Adamson called Eyappo (Hiapo), meaning the priest who brought off Captain Cook's bones, but in this Mr. Adamson was mistaken, as the man himself acknowledged when questioned, for he said Eyappo (Hiapo) was dead. This man bore a strong resemblance to Eyappo(Hiapo) as to his size and features, but Eyappo (Hiapo) had his tongue much tattooed, a mark which he never could eradicate. I never saw him but once, which was on my last voyage while we lay in Karrakakooa (Kealakeku) Bay in the Columbia. He then came on board like a priest, bringing with him a

large English common prayer book which he said was made him a present by Captain Douglas. But enough of Eyappo (Hiapo)—he's dead. However, the man that resembled him, we were informed, was a chief of the first consequence. I therefore advised Captain Croel to detain him, but in this I was wrong, or I believe we began too early, as no chief after this would come off. However, I much question whether any would have come off had not this been done, as the news had long before gone on shore that Ridler was on board the Hope, which alone was sufficient to deter any of them from coming off, as they would be sure he would have long since informed us of their having taken the American schooner Fair American.

As soon as it was known that this man was detained, most of the men and women about us began crying aloud and he sent frequent messages on shore to inform them, I suppose, of his situation. It continued calm till about 11 o'clock, when we had a light breeze from the east, with which we stood toward Toyahyah (Kohala) point; but, as I had much trouble and anxiety when under this point before and reaped little benefit, I determined not to be caught again. It was then proposed to the confined chief that if he would send on shore for the men (Isaac Davis and John Young) the king had retained alive when the schooner (Fair American) was captured, together with some hogs, he should be set at liberty. He said he had already sent, but that they would not be off till the next day, in which I desired Captain Croel to act his pleasure in remaining or not, having previously supplied him with the articles he was in want of.

I then determined on bearing away for Waititie (Waikiki) bay, where I was sure we could procure every refreshment we were in want of, on which Captain Croel agreed to bear away also, and we let the chief go; but I kept the racer whom I afterwards found was a man of some consequence. Beside him 2 other men, and his wife, chose to accompany him,

which I agreed to. I gave the chief whom we released a letter for my brother whom, I had advice by the Columbia, was coming out, but I have little hopes this letter will ever be handed him, for these people are now aware that these letters in general are to warn strangers of their treachery and caution them to be on their guard, hence they seldom deliver any.

We shaped our course to run without Towrooa (Kahoolawe) and Ranai (Lanai). Next morning we were off the west coast of the former. Through the day we had light air so that it was dark ere we came abreast of the west end of Ranai (Lanai). However, in the afternoon we were visited by 2 double canoes which had nothing for sale except a few curiosities. The men in them soon knew the men we had taken from Mowee (Maui). They informed us Tio (Kaeo) was at Moratoe (Molokai) and Tituree (Kahekili) was at Waitiitii (Waikiki). At sunset a fine breeze sprung up from the eastward and we steered for Waitiitii (Waikiki) Bay, where we anchored next morning at 9 o'clock in 10 fathoms water; distance off shore 2 leagues, the bluffs bearing ESE and the Morai (heiau) N 2 E.

Shortly after being at anchor many canoes came around us, but few hogs came off. In the forenoon, while I was on board the Hancock, old Abenooe (Opunui), second chief of Atooi (Kauai) came off. After his being on board about an hour, all the canoes pushed off suddenly from alongside and, when we inquired the reason, a little boy, whom Captain Croel had taken from Owhyhee (Hawaii) and had been to the NW coast of America with him, answered, *Tanatta mauoo Ririe motto hanna pooi pu* (kanaka maau Ririe makau hana pui), that the natives were afraid of Ridler, and that our vessel would fire on them. That I judged at the time was a scheme of old Abenooe (Opunui) to be coaxed and obtain a present. However, as frequent hints were thrown out by the gentlemen of the Hancock that it was a pity we had bore away from Owhyhee

(Hawaii) and that we could expect no hogs here while the Hope was at anchor. On this I told Captain Croel, rather than be any detriment to him in procuring stock, I would weigh my anchor and bear away for Atooi (Kauai) and Onehow (Niihau), leaving him to collect refreshments, and I would meet him in Wyomeya (Waimea), where we would divide equally what each vessel had procured. This, Captain Croel agreed to and, after dining with him, I went on board the Hope to weigh my anchor, where I found, notwithstanding the bad light Abenooe (Opunui) would fain put me in, that the natives viewed us favorably in that we had collected more than twice as many hogs as our friends in the Hancock, and a large quantity of potatoes, taro, etc.; besides our water was nearly filled up.

The King's son and his servants were on board, who had ordered their dinner brought off from the shore and dined on board. Seeing we were so fortunate I resolved not to weigh, as I before proposed. Accordingly I hailed for Captain Croel to come on board and acquainted him with my determination. I gave the prince a musket, to gain his confidence, which seemed fully to answer the desired effect.

At sunset each vessel fired a Taboo gun and all the canoes immediately left us there. That night we had a good watch kept, as we had been informed by Captain Barnett that his cable had been cut by these people not long before our arrival. This news was confirmed by the information of some boys which I took off the island and further confirmed by Captain Barnett himself on my arrival in Macao. The boys informed us the anchor was then on shore with about 40 fathoms of cable, but this was communicated after we had sailed, otherwise I would certainly have detained some chief till they had brought it off.

Captain Barnett, finding he could not get his anchor and cable by fair means fired on shore among the natives, by which the boys informed me, one man was killed and 2 wounded, besides the round shot made

many holes in the trees and houses but did no other damage.

On the morning of the 12th the King's son visited us again and brought with him a chief of consequence who produced certificates from a Spanish officer, Captain Colonet, and Captain Barnett and a Captain Wm. Hervey of the service of London. By 10 o'clock in the morning I had as much stock as I was in want of and determined to sail immediately. Accordingly I sent word to Captain Croel, who returned for answer that Tiituree (Kahekili) was coming off and would bring plenty of hogs, etc. Therefore I sent him word I would weigh my anchor and drive without sail, and thereby enable him to purchase more hogs, as there were plenty about us.

Our anchor was scarcely aweigh ere we saw old Tiituree (Kahekili), the King, coming off in a double canoe. He made towards the Hancock, when one of my men, which I had taken from Mowee (Maui), requested my permission to go into one of the canoes alongside and bring the King to us first. I consented to his going but assured him I would not fire on the fowls, some fish, potatoes, plantains, taro, sugar cane and cocoanuts. Through the night we had it calm. Next morning early we were visited by several canoes. They kept increasing so that by noon we had fully 150 about us, all single. Of these we bought but one small pig and a dozen fowls, but a great quantity of excellent line, fruit and vegetables.

The snow on Mownakoa (Maunakea) which occasioned the vast cascades of this side of the island and of which I made mention when we last saw it, was now dissolved and we saw but 2 solitary small cascades remaining. This circumstance materially altered the sublime appearance with which I was before delighted. At noon, finding these people, as they had informed us, very poor, I bore away to try them further to leeward.

About 2 o'clock we discovered a sail from the masthead, on which I made all sail. She appeared to be a

natives or take any measure whatever to help him in case they detained him or ran off with him. However, this had no effect on him and he went into one of the canoes, mad fellow like, waving his hat and halloaing. Mr. Adamson, seeing this, went into a canoe likewise to use his endeavours to get His Majesty on board the Hancock first, but his persuasions did not avail and the King came on board the Hope. Mr. Adamson followed him.

The King made me a present of 3 hogs, which I gave immediately to Mr. Adamson as he assured me they had but very few. I made the King a present of a musket, but would not wait his return present, which he said should come off immediately. He stayed on board of us but a few minutes, when he left us accompanied by Mr. Adamson to go on board the Hancock. I now let the racer go, and those that accompanied him. As soon as the chief, whom I mentioned had the certificates, saw him, he said it was his brother and should live at his house. When I discharged him I gave him some iron and desired him not to go into the service of Tommahommahaw (Kamehameha) again; that if I caught him boarding vessels again, as I had done twice before, I would carry him off entirely. To this he answered, *Mytie, nana Amerita* (*Maikai, nana Amelika*), that he should like to see America; so it seemed he was not easy put out of the way.

We drove off from the land at a slow rate, accompanied by about 200 canoes, double and single, from which we continued to purchase hogs, vegetables, curiosities, etc. Among other things one of the natives brought a calabash full of small lizards, offering them for sale, saying they were *Etooa whyheinee* (*akua wahine*), women's gods. Seeing we would not buy them, with very little ceremony he threw them into the sea. Several of them crept up the vessel's side and 2 were found alive under the iron chest 30 days after.

However, by noon, the Hancock having augmented her stock considerably, we made sail. I brought off 3

boys with me as I knew, if they were tractable, they would be serviceable to me the ensuing season on the NW (coast). Besides these boys, I had collected at this island 70 hogs, a few fowls and a great quantity of vegetables. After drawing the shot from my guns, I made use of the powder to salute the Hancock, which salute of cannon and swivells amounted to 13, for which they returned 9 (4 cannon and 5 muskets), all they had loaded. To these we both added 3 cheers and parted company.

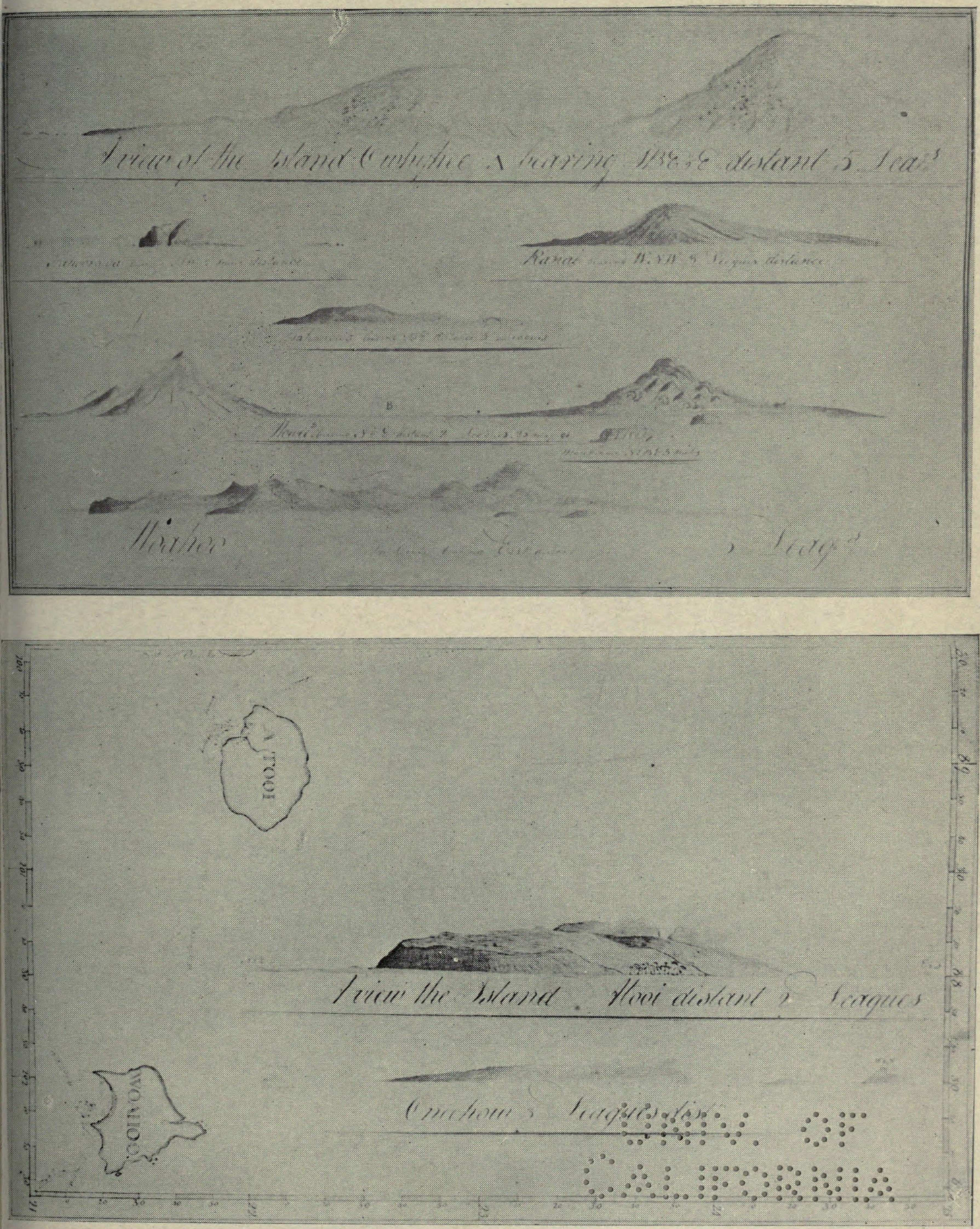
As the Hancock outsailed us, I could ascribe it to nothing else but that the Hope was out of trim, as on the coast we outsailed the Columbia very much, and the Columbia outsailed the Hancock, which they fell in company with a few days after speaking us.

This is the 3rd time I have visited these islands: Once in the Columbia, and twice in the Hope.

In the Columbia I visited all the islands, and was on shore at most of them. In my account of that voyage I took great pains to learn every particular respecting the islands and their inhabitants, the description of which occupies many pages in that work; therefore, on examination, I find all I could now say would be only to repeat all I have said before on the subject, and to take from one to add to the other would be unnecessary trouble and time ill-spent—hence I have only to refer the reader to that work for the present, and as I expect to visit this group at least once more this voyage, if anything new takes place or anything worthy of observation, I shall take care to note it; though everyone must be convinced how little offers merely in sailing past an island without landing.

If you ask information from the natives there is a risk, from not being perfectly acquainted with their language, of committing to paper improprieties or untruths. Passages at sea of any kind are in general dull subjects to write upon and so liable to repetitions of sea terms and occurrences which none but seamen understand. As this work is intended for landsmen to

amuse themselves with, as well as seamen, I must endeavour to avoid and leave out what may be tedious and disgusting to the former, at the same time note everything that may be entertaining or serviceable to the latter. To effect this I conceive no plan better adapted to the purpose than a chart from the Sandwich Islands to China with the vessel's track and everything worthy of note selected from the log book on which I shall note the variation of the compass, likewise show islands and shoals laid down in Lord Anson's and many other charts, which we sailed over with great ease, as no such lands or shoals exist. As ships now frequent this passage so much, a reformation of the old charts may be easily effected, and that they require correction must be evident to everyone who has sailed here with their eyes open. To correct mistakes of this kind is certainly the duty of everyone, as wrong charts only serve to perplex one, for no prudent man will sail over a spot in the night or even approach it without gerat caution if it is laid down in any chart he selects, or has in possession, for even a chance of its being right is too great a risk to run. However, trifling the charge of a ship may appear in the eyes of some persons, yet I am sure whoever has not had charge of one can form but a poor idea of the anxiety which those who have charge of a ship and the lives of all under his command are liable to at times. By this I hope it will not be understood that I mean to place any extraordinary feathers in my cap, for all I would aim at or pretend to do is to correct any evident mistakes that may fall under my observation and remove as far as I can every stumbling block which may have a tendency to occasion anxiety to the mariner. How far I may be happy in my attempts on these occasions to succeed, time alone must determine. This I am conscious of, my motive is good, be the want what it may.



Drawings Appearing in Log of the Hope.

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